28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37
116, 476, 533, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again.
571 It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty
292 much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal